

STRICTURES

ADDRESSED TO JAMES MADISON

ON

The Celebrated Report

OF

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD,

RECOMMENDING

THE

INTERMARRIAGE

OF

AMERICANS WITH THE INDIAN TRIBES.

ASCRIBED TO JUDGE COOPER,

AND ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED

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1824

John Binns

PREFACE.

The following Strictures on the memorable and unpopular *Report* of WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD, advising the intermarriage of American citizens with our Indian tribes, originally appeared in the DEMOCRATIC PRESS; and have been ascribed with every appearance of truth, to the classical and able pen of the learned, ingenious and celebrated *Judge Cooper*. At the present juncture, these Essays possess a peculiar and strong interest to the people of the United States. The author of that unprincipled and nefarious project, which drew forth from the writer of the following essays, his argumentative and eloquent animadversion, is now attempted to be obtruded on the public, as a Candidate for the chief Executive Chair of the Nation. It becomes, therefore, of vital importance, that his principles and his views should be sifted and examined into, before he is pronounced fit to be entrusted with the sacred charge of our liberty, property and happiness. The following pages will unfold to the view of the reader, the real character of the man, who is the subject of their criticism. Putting aside the odious and repulsive proposition, to intermix civilized whites with our savage population of the frontier wilderness by *marriage*, which in itself, is so calculated to excite disgust, and rouse feelings of indignation and abhorrence—putting this feature of the Report entirely aside, the sentiments of WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD in respect to *adopted citizens* and *foreigners by birth*, betrays a spirit of aristocracy, bigotry, and proscription so perfectly congenial to the feelings that pervaded the measures and actuated the men of the “*days of terror*,” under the Administration of Mr. Adams, that it would be both contrary to justice, and repugnant to reason, to suppose that Mr. Crawford, has relinquished one of those principles and opinions, which impelled him in 1798 to mount the Black cockade, and volunteer in the proscription of Democracy, and the denunciation of the *Rights of Man*. It behoves every *adopted son* of this *free country*, therefore, to give the following essays a cool, deliberate and impartial perusal, and then pronounce on “the altar of his conscience,” and the love he bears to liberty and his country, whether such a politician as Mr. Crawford, is worthy of his suffrage for any great responsible station, even of secondary importance in the government of this country.

It must be considered a fortunate circumstance for the purity and permanence of our Republican Institutions, that an opportu-

nity has been given to the most corrupt and ambitious Candidates for the next Presidency, to exhibit the badness of their principles and views, by acting in prior stations of great responsibility at the Seat of the general Government. It must ever be appreciated as a great blessing, that *Mr. Crawford's* situation as *Secretary of the Treasury*, has revealed to the People of the United States, a character so inimical to its happiness and freedom, and so prone to violate the Sanctuary of its Constitution. From *actual experience* of what he would have done, in a *subordinate station*, we can safely and certainly infer what he would attempt to carry into execution, if invested with supreme and sovereign authority. As President of these States (to which office, thank heaven, relying on the virtues of the People, he is destined never to arrive!) he would no doubt extend his hatred against *adopted citizens*, still further; and not only grant premiums to those natives who would agree to marry a savage woman, but impose fines and penalties on every man, whose destiny had cast his birth in another soil, although possessed of all the *Constitutional Rights* of an American citizen. In fine, there is no conceiving to what extent his ambition and want of principle, would carry him, if placed in the Chair of State; and we have only to be convinced, that he ought not to reach it; by reading the following essays of Judge Cooper, revealing the odious features of his celebrated *Indian Report*.

The Constitution of the United States has made our shores the *Sanctuary* of oppressed and persecuted man, from all parts of the world! What American citizen would degrade his nature, and blacken his name, by conspiring to make that *Asylum*, the theatre of arbitrary tests, and exclusive privileges, by advocating the election of WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

I shall conclude these observations by citing the concluding part of the Introductory Letter of the author of the following Essays.

“If the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made, when every effort to introduce among them (the Indian Savages,) ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriages between them and the whites be encouraged by the government. This cannot fail to preserve the race with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed that the principles of humanity in this instance are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honour to incorporate, by a humane and benevolent policy, the natives of our forests in the great American family of freemen, than to receive with open arms, *the fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or their virtues.*”

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. H. CRAWFORD.

STRICTURES, &c.

IF the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made, when every effort to introduce among them, (the Indian savages,) ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriages between them and the whites be encouraged by the government. This cannot fail to preserve the race with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed, that the principles of humanity, in this instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honour to incorporate, by a humane and benevolent policy, the natives of our forests in the great American family of freemen, than to receive, with open arms, *the fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or their virtues.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

(No. 1.)

To James Madison, President of the United States.

This last paragraph is volunteered; lugged in by head and shoulders; being perfectly uncalled for by the subject matter of the report, and perfectly unexpected by every republican. Thus needlessly to step aside from the plain highway of official communication, to give vent to an opinion quite unconnected with the subject—an opinion that is to every reader injudicious, because it is to say the least extremely dubious—and, to every liberal mind, extremely offensive—exhibits want of judgment so egregious, and bigotry so detestable, that from this time forward, the man who makes it will only be distinguished by the weakness of his head and the rancour of his heart. The mark is upon his forehead—*tenum habet in cornu, fuge, fuge.* This man may be secretary of war, but he will never be the people's president!

I shall take the liberty, in the course of two or three more letters on the subject of Mr. Secretary Crawford, to pen a sermon upon the occasion, taking the passage above quoted as my text. Wherein, with your permission, and Mr. Binns's, (who has a very important voice upon such an occasion) I shall with due deference enquire.

1st. Whether it be expedient to adopt into the great family of the nation, for the purpose of extending civil liberty and social happiness, the American savages and their descendants.

2nd. Whether the Americans, who have settled on and who

have defended our frontier, ought to be encouraged to enter into the tender connexion of matrimonial union with the neighbouring savages, in order to extend the empire of civil liberty and social happiness! And, in particular, whether the finest portion of the human race in form, figure and capacity—the young men and young women who border on the Indian frontiers in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia—blooming, healthy, hardy, active and enterprising, shall or can be tempted by govermental allurements, to relinquish the society of each other, and to prostitute their persons, to the dirty, draggle-tailed, blanketted, half-human squaws, or the filthy ferocious half naked savages, bedecked, indeed, with pewter pendants in their ears, lips and noses, and so politely recommended also by Mr. Crawford to the fair daughters of America as beaux and husbands: all for the benevolent and patriotic purpose of propagating and extending civil liberty and social happiness.

3d. Whether it would be desirable to shut our ports against every class of emigrants from the old world, whether induced to come hither from well-weighed considerations of preference, or of interest, or driven hither by the hatred which their virtues and talents may have excited at home.

4th. What credit is derived to these sentiments and recommendations of Mr. Secretary Crawford, from his own character and standing in society—which it will be very proper, for this purpose, to bring in review before the public.

Having thus distributed the heads of my discourse, I shall, for the present, take leave, with sincere respect, sir, for your talents and integrity, notwithstanding your occasional mistakes.

AMERICANUS.

Washington City, April 10th, 1816.

(No. 2.)

To James Madison, President of the United States.

If the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made, when every effort to introduce among them, (the Indian savages,) ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriages between them and the whites be encouraged by the government. This cannot fail to preserve the race, with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed that the principles of humanity, in this instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honour to incorporate by a humane and benevolent policy, the natives of our forests in the great American family of freemen, than to receive with open arms the fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or their virtues.

I have the honour, &c.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

Sir,—I promised, in this communication, to enquire whether it was expedient to admit into the great political family of the United States, the savage Indians on our frontier: for this is a suggestion of Mr. Secretary Crawford, as a measure well worth attention, with a view to the benefit of the American Union. And it must be confessed they have some qualities that would seem to fit them for becoming members of congress.

1st. They are to a man very much attached to smoking and chewing tobacco when they can get it.

2d. They can match the members from New England in swilling cider, and the members from the middle and southern states in drinking whiskey and brandy toddy.

3d. They can patiently sit and hear a man talk nonsense for a day together without betraying the least emotion. Their mongrel countryman, John Randolph, whose unexampled prolixity is intolerable to a white man, could not wish for a better audience.

4th. They in their turn are also fond of set speeches and discussions; long talks, pow-wow-ing as we call it, adopting their phraseology. The aforesaid John Randolph is a notable example of this propensity, who can grin and chatter for three days in continuance, dispensing thoughts by the thimble full, and works by the bushel.

5th. They have this qualification also in common with all members of congress, that they are great lovers of venison and broiled stakes.

6th. They would be excellent for lending a helping hand on a question to raise the wages of the members: for they are in the regular practice of sending deputations to their great father, the President of the United States, to complain that their allowance is too scanty, that their whiskey is mixed with water, and their squaws blankets are too short, with other national grievances equally serious.

Then the collateral advantages to the American people would be of no small consequence from the introduction of many improvements and polite accomplishments among us, in which we are deficient.

In London, no belle or beau can dispense with the use of bears grease to thicken the hair; our ladies at Washington are not yet au fait in the use of this most elegant application, so indispensable to the inside as well as the outside of an Indian.

We are also sadly at a loss of late years for new steps in our dancing schools: some unhackneyed chacone, some substitute for the Pirouette a le vestus and the Pigeon's wing. We might derive new ideas for a pas seul from the war dance and other capers to which the Indians are greatly attached. Indeed they are a dancing nation, "how came you here?" (said a traveller to a little Frenchman whom he found teaching cotillons at an Indian village to the sound of a pocket kit.) Ah! jetoit sibien persuadu qui ces Messieurs les Sauvages avoient des grands talens pour le danse.

Not that I would insinuate Mr. Secretary Crawford has any

such talent. Heaven forfend! He despised the French as a capering nation, whose language it was beneath his dignity to learn, when he was ambassador among them. He took what we call here, in congress phraseology, "high ground, a dignified and imposing attitude, (an attitude by the way which will not always impose upon the people either here or there). He always moves with solemn step and slow." Statua taciturnior exit.

The boys flock round him and the people stare
So stiff, so grave, some statue you would swear,
Stept from its pedestal to take the air.

Gravity is an excellent surtout; a coverslut. Like charity, but in a different sense, it covereth a multitude of sins.

Sturm well defined it an exterior deportment of the person to conceal the defects of the mind. But the posture master is sometimes deceived, when like the silly ostrich, he supposes that no one can discern his carcase, because he has taken pains to hide his head.

However that we may treat this subject with all due seriousness, I will suppose Mr. Crawford's plan put into execution, and that some Indian representatives of a frontier state are sent to congress to discuss a bank bill or a tariff, or a bankrupt law, questions such as are now pending.

I request of you, sir, should these lucubrations have the good fortune of meeting your morning glance, to consider for a moment, whether after putting this case, I have need to say one word in addition, to show the glaring, the contemptible absurdities of Mr. Secretary Crawford's recommendations. At what period, I wonder, does this practical statesman, contemplate a branch of your \$5,000,000 bank to be established for the benefit of the Creeks, the Choctaws, or the Cherokees?

Sir, there are propositions, now and then to be met with, as you well know, so pre-eminently ridiculous, that one is apt to pause, lest there should be some secret, some mysterious meaning; lest our first impression should be a mistaken one, and we should discover that something more is meant than meets the ear, until upon reflection and consideration, we find ourselves astounded and put to a non plus, by the mere show in mingled folly of the proposition and the proposer, so are we in the present instance.

Monroe is a man of business, so are Dallas, and Gallatin, and Rush, but Mr. Crawford is a mere theorist, and a very wild one. He commits himself and the administration most wantonly: he volunteers opinions that are sure to excite opposition and enmity. If he have talent or genius, we are yet to discover it, but his want of judgment is most glaring. Can you trust such a man; if he will thus commit himself, may he not commit you?

I do not much wonder indeed, at this, considering the frontier education of Mr. Crawford; but how, sir, do you feel upon the occasion? How could you so mistake, as to appoint this *very ignorant* in the first instance, as ambassador. You, it would appear, suc-

cumbered under the annoyance of his pretensions, and with fathoming his understanding, you took for granted that the shallows had no soundings.

But when he so publicly, so glaringly exposed his manifest ignorance at Paris—when you were compelled to recall him for incapacity, as it is well known you were, what could induce you to appoint him secretary? Mr. Madison, Mr. Madison, conciliation is but a mild term for fear and imbecility. Do you remember the tale of *La Chose*, impossible? To conciliate a political enemy, is also *La Chose*, impossible; you have failed so often in these conciliatory plans, that I shall most earnestly deplore any further attempt at an experiment, so dangerous to the public interest and so fatal to your own reputation.

Before an Indian can become a fit person for citizenship, he must learn our language, he must read our books, he must enter into our constitutional doctrines, he must become somewhat acquainted with our political characters and our party politics. He must acquire notions of separate property, of regular industry. He must throw aside his propensity for ranging, for hunting, for war, for revenge. How many generations will this take? In a word you must change the animal. Can you do this? Has it ever been done? and yet it has been tried often enough. Ameliorate their condition, as far as their nature and the circumstances of their existence will permit; but you cannot make an Indian a white man, either outside or within. How much superior is he to the negro? is he more teachable? who will venture to say this? Yet would the southern delegation consent to admit the black man to a participation of the privileges that the secretary claims for the red men? There is no practicable knowledge in this strange position. Savages and forests go together. Destroy the forest and the savage retires. They have been tried often enough, they cannot bear civilization. I grant this is assertion, but you sir, know it to be the assertion of matter of fact, now beyond dispute.

I beg permission sir, to refer you to the description of Mashpee, an Indian colony in the county of Barnstable, under the protection of the state of Massachusetts, dated Sept. 2, 1802, and published in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The extracts to the purpose will be found in Tudor's *North American Review*, vol. ii. p. 112, et sig. It is an account of a fruitless attempt to civilize some Indian tribes, very honestly commenced and very perseveringly pursued by the government of that state, but in vain. They have been constantly visited, and unremittingly attended to by committees from the society for propagating the gospel among the Indians, by the committees of the legislature, by overseers specially appointed to attend to their interests, to listen to their complaints, to redress their grievances. But they have remained idle, drunken, suspicious, abject and discontented. "They have neither become a religious or a happy people. The exertions that have been made for their benefit, are honourable to the government and to the societies, who have contributed their time and their

wealth; but the melancholy reflection that they have laboured in vain, perpetually intrudes itself on the mind: with a hundredth part of the pains that have been bestowed on these savages, a town might have been raised on the ground occupied by them, which would contain four times as many white inhabitants enjoying all the comforts of civilized life, contributing by their industry to the welfare of the state and by the taxes which they pay to the support of government. But let them remain; and let the pious and benevolent still persevere in their endeavours, however hopeless, to make them good men and good christians."

Much has been said, (observes the editor of this review, Mr. Tudor) and written about the oppression of the natives, by the by the first settlers of this country: many philanthropists have regretted that pains had not been taken to civilize them: many well-meaning, devout people have deplored their heathenish condition; with how much reason and justice these complaints have been uttered, this experiment may serve to explain. It will not be contended, that the experiment has been ill-conducted, injudicious and extravagant, since it has been under the particular patronage of that most useful Institution, the society for propagating the gospel among the Indians. It will not be alleged, that it has been hasty and incomplete, for it has now lasted one hundred and sixty years.

I perfectly agree in these sentiments. Do them good if you can, but before they can be induced to acquire the habits of civilized life, they will be pressed upon by white population, and the habits acquired, will be the vicious habits of the frontier whites.

In fact, if 20 Indians require 20,000 acres for their subsistence; and twenty white men, members of civilized society, can subsist more comfortably and raise a more numerous progeny on a thousand acres; what right has the Indian to monopolize the larger quantity, merely, because he chooses to be indolent and idle?

However, I am desirous as much as Mr. Crawford, of doing them permanent good by civilization, if it be possible; and therefore, I shall not dispute about the outlines of the question. In my next letter, I will take the liberty of explaining his method of putting the plan in execution.

AMERICANUS.

Washington City, April 13, 1816.

(No. 3.)

To James Madison, President of the United States.

If the system already devised, has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made, when every effort to introduce among them, (the Indian savages,) ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriages between them and the whites be encouraged by the government. This cannot fail to preserve the race with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed, that the principles of humanity in this

instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honour to incorporate, by a humane and benevolent policy, the natives of our forests in the great American family of freemen, than to receive, with open arms, the *fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or their virtues.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

Sir,—I now proceed to enquire, whether it would be desirable to give encouragement to our young men and women of the frontier country, to intermingle with the savages for the purpose of improving the breed, or fitting them, by and by to become members of the American Union, and of propagating the principles of civil liberty, by propagating mongrels between the American and the squaw.

I do not wonder at such a notion being advanced by Mr. Secretary Crawford, who has practised so long, in the neighbourhood of the Creeks and the Cherokees, and who is well acquainted with the natives on the Oakfusee and the head waters of Talapoosa; but a common man must have time to acquire this taste: as in the smoking segars and chewing tobacco, certain prejudices and loathings are to be overcome, before we can reconcile ourselves to a filthy custom for the sake of social conformity.

We have no details of Mr. Crawford's plan, to enable us to judge of the specific temptations he means to hold out, for the purpose of encouraging this species of prostitution.

Whether our blooming lasses are to be paid in land or money, for thus selling their embraces to the idle, haughty, drunken, ferocious savage; some kind of remuneration must be held out, for I have no more conception of our people submitting to this motley intercourse, with a view of extending the enjoyment of "civil liberty and social happiness," than I have of their intermarrying with the stinking negroes for the same benevolent purpose.

In truth, the absolute futility of any plan for civilizing these people, is shown demonstratively by the facts stated in the report itself. The plan has been often tried in every way, but uniformly without success. You can no more convert an Indian into a civilized man, than you can convert a negro into a white man. The animal configurations and propensities are different.

But I will suppose, for a moment, that Mr. Secretary Crawford's plan is carried into execution, and that a couple of thousand or more, of intermarriages, take place of the description he recommends. Our frontiers will then exhibit four or five thousand children, with half savage, half civilized physiognomies. I beg to know of you, sir, who have intelligence and taste to understand the argument, whether it be not a national object of great importance, to improve, as much as possible, the national physiognomy and the impression on the countenance of national beauty and civilization. Was not the introduction of small pox inoculations, and is not the introduction of vaccine inoculation highly prized, on account of its abolish-

ing the disfigured features, that the small pox so frequently occasioned.

If this mark of the savage on the forehead, if this mongrel motley expression of civil and savage physiognomy could be eradicated in a generation or two, it might be patiently borne; but we know it cannot. Let any man look at the strange, wild, forbidding, doubtful features of the person who boasts of his descent from the princess Pocahontas, and let him ask himself "Would I wish my child to look like this man?" I protest and vow with all seriousness that I would not. Then, look at the kind of disposition entailed in this instance upon the unfortunate offspring, like the sins of the parents, visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation. The propensity to noisy, querulous, wordy warfare, the finding fault with every thing and every body, to gratify a splenetic temper, the inclination to become a common scold, and the constant habit of behaving like one, so fully exemplified in this mongrel legislator! Here is a specimen of Mr. Crawford's cross between the civil and the savage man; and truly (saving the pun) a cross specimen the creature is. May heaven, in its mercy, save us from Mr. Crawford's crude plans, and the Indian face, and endless vixatory orations of the descendants of Pocahontas. From such secretaries and such legislators good Lord deliver us.

But let us examine a little further this proposition of Mr. Crawford's. I would enquire whether it be prudent or patriotic to annihilate the natural feelings and honest propensities of our own people, of our own young men and maidens, for the purpose of trying another experiment to civilize those whom nature has made wild and uncivilized, and who remain untameable after the unsuccessful experiments of more than a century and a half? I would enquire, where is the benevolence, the patriotism, the attachment to social happiness, in sacrificing our own people and their comforts to the pleasures of the savage? Might not the wilderness, that these people inhabit, be converted into the flourishing habitations of the industrious white man, in half the time that would be required to civilize the Indian, even supposing it possible to do so at all? There is neither benevolence, or prudence, or practical knowledge, or patriotic feelings, in thus recommending that our frontier inhabitants should be sacrificed in fact, as to all the means of social happiness, for the purpose of improving the condition of their ferocious neighbours. These may be Talapoosa notions and feelings; they are certainly very wide of being those of an American citizen. Then the means necessary to be used, recommended by Mr. Crawford, are of the worst description of dishonesty. "Let intermarriages between them and the whites (says this notable law-giver) be encouraged by the government." Now, I say, that government can give no encouragement; it has not the means of giving encouragement, but by some direct or indirect method of paying or remunerating those white males or females, who prostitute themselves to promote Mr. Secretary Crawford's wild scheme. For it is absolutely incredible that any such marriages will ever take place

by choice. The natural, the unsophisticated feelings of every young white man and woman would sicken and revolt at the idea of such a strange connexion. If they are encouraged to submit to it, the very lowest and most degraded alone will conform, and even they must be well paid for so doing.

The United States, I say, have no other means (I say again) of giving encouragement to such a scheme. That is, Mr. Secretary Crawford recommends that government shall interfere to tempt by the love of gain, to pay, to bribe our young men and women to commit prostitution, for the sake of adding to the comforts of the American savage; who is there that does not deplore the frequency of illicit intercourse in our large cities? But the prostitution of a white woman to a white man, is virtue itself, compared to Mr. Crawford's recommendation of yielding up the persons of our young women, and that too for life, to the embraces of the savage, for the pay and rewards of governmental encouragement; to which the benevolent and patriotic gentleman adds the increase of civil liberty and social happiness!! I wish Mr. Crawford would kindly instruct the world, in the quantum of civil liberty and social happiness enjoyed by an Indian squaw.

Sir, you are a wise man and a good man; if you be led astray, it is by amiable propensities that call for public indulgence, though I wish you indulged them less yourself. But I appeal to the innate goodness of your heart, and I ask of you, did you ever know, in the whole compass of private or political life, a proposal so disgustingly demoralizing? I want words to express my profound abhorrence of such a proposition, and I should shudder at the official importance given to it, if I did not feel perfectly secure in its utter impracticability. No! Mr. Secretary Crawford may stand forth the unfeeling, the unblushing advocate of bribery and prostitution, but he will find his filthy proposals treated with the execrations they deserve, by those whom he marks out as the victims of his flagrant want of sense, and his unnatural want of taste. But I have not yet done with Mr. Crawford. I have two other epistles to trouble you with on his behalf.

For the present, accept, sir, I pray you, the assurances of perfect consideration and great respect.

AMERICANUS.

Washington City, April 16, 1816.

(No. 4.)

To James Madison, President of the United States.

If the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made, when every effort to introduce among them (the Indian savages) ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriages between them and the whites be encouraged by the government. This cannot fail to preserve the race with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social

happiness. It is believed that the principles of humanity in this instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honour to incorporate, by a humane and benevolent policy, the natives of our forests, in the great American family of freemen, than to receive with open arms, *the fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or their virtues.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

Sir,—In pursuance of my plan, I shall take the liberty of enquiring whether America can be injured by encouraging that accession to her industry, capital and population, which is derived from foreigners of respectable character, who adopt this country as the permanent home of themselves and their families. Mr. Secretary Crawford overwhelms, with one sweeping, sarcastic denunciation, the fugitives from other countries, whether driven hither by their crimes or their virtues. As it is well known many of our countrymen are the descendants of those who were driven hither against their will, as the alternative of escaping from the gibbet. Mr. Crawford may, for aught I know, have some reason for avoiding any distinction upon this subject; but, as I am no advocate for the encouragement of criminals, either here or elsewhere, I choose to confine my defensive remarks to foreigners, who seek our shores, clothed with a character unimpeachable in its moral relations. I well know that many persons of Mr. Crawford's stamp, all the seven deadly sins put together, are as damnable as the sin of republicanism, but as I shall say a few words on this subject by and by, I shall not dwell upon it now.

Sir, among the other fugitives from England, well worthy of being received with open arms, (Mr. Secretary Crawford notwithstanding) is a certain proverb derived from thence, which, like other proverbs, is the result of long and general observation. "It is a dirty bird that befouls his own nest."

Now, as the majority of the population of the United States consists, at this moment, either of natives of Great Britain and Ireland, or the descendants of those who were so when they came hither, I leave Mr. Crawford to apply the proverb to the case. If I were to state that the majority of the present population consisted of persons, either born in the British dominions, or whose fathers or grandfathers were so, that majority would extend to full nine-tenths of our present population. I exclude, of course, the favourite Aborigines. How many sweet little cherubs, beautiful as John Randolph, the princess Pocahontas, might have added to our population, when she condescended to let some naughty foreigner take liberties with her lovely person, I do not pretend to say; perhaps we shall know more on this interesting subject, when the memoirs of the Pocahontas family shall appear from the pen of that enlightened statesman, who boasts of his direct descent from the royal and illustrious house of Pocahontas.

Sir—when you appoint men to high and responsible stations, the public have a right to expect, that they shall be persons of experience in public affairs, persons who know the world, too wise to give unnecessary offence, and above all, that they shall possess American feelings. Upon what fair pretence, sir, can you retain this rash, this bigoted calumniator of more than one half of the American people, and nine tenths of their immediate ancestors? When we take in the Swedish and the German parts of our population, to all of whom Mr. Crawford's sarcasm extends, my calculation is below the mark. Is such a volunteer defamer of his fellow-citizens a fit person for office? Are these American feelings? Are they in unison with the constitution or the laws of the United States? Do not this constitution and these laws, hold out encouragement to persons emigrating from a foreign country hither.

A nation full of wealth, crowded with people, abounding in arts, sciences and manufactures, has no need to encourage emigration: the motives to such encouragement fail. Such a country is England, who receives, however, with open arms, every respectable foreigner who can contribute to her wealth, her industry, or her science. Can West or Copely complain of want of encouragement? Who was better received in England, than count Rumford, than count Bournan, than Dr. Solander or Mr. Planta, M. de Magellan or Abbe Correa? There is no jealousy in that country on this score. Yet England abounds in wealth and art, and science, and industry. Upon 57,000 square miles in England and Wales, there are a few more than ten millions of people: that is, 175 persons to the square mile. While in this country, we have not, upon the average, above three persons in the same space. Here wealth is so much wanted, that almost the only subject of our incessant debating in this city, is, how to raise money, whether for public or private wants. The plans of Mr. Dallas and Mr. Calhoun absorb the whole of our attention, and if the trade against foreigners in Mr. Crawford's report, had not stood forth so very prominent to the astonished public, as a flagrant instance of the absence of common sense, where caution and wisdom were naturally expected; all Mr. Crawford's habitual imbecility and his minor defects, would have passed unnoticed and almost unknown.

But his hatred to foreigners, were the last sounds that dwelt upon the ear. Again, can skill in the arts and manufactures, can improvements in every profession, that depends upon careful education and scientific knowledge be useful to us? Are not home manufactures wanted in self-defence? And whence is this knowledge of them to be procured, but from the places where they are cultivated with the greatest success—from England, France and Germany? I grant you, that an idle, pompous, southern planter, who thinks all necessary acquirements comprised in raising rice, cotton or tobacco, and who places the summit of refined education in having read Hume, Robertson and Ramsay for a fund of historical knowledge. Walter Scott and lord Byron's silly verses, with a few novels to furnish polite conversation—such a man, I say,

may deem science useless and manufactures a nuisance. But thank God, not so the American people: not so with the quick, intelligent, high-minded gentry of Virginia, who are alive to the importance of scientific inquiries and the useful arts, who laugh at the ravings and scoldings of the Roanoke legislator, and who welcome industry, wealth, knowledge and good conduct, from whatever portion of the globe they may arrive hither.

I would take the liberty, sir, if I dared take a liberty with so great a man, of asking Mr. Crawford, whether general Montgomery, general Gates, general Lafayette, baron Steuben, baron De Kalb, general Kosciusko, general Pulaski, general Hamilton, general St. Clair, general Lee, general Stewart, were not foreigners? Whether the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line were not foreigners? Whether our financiers, Robert Morris and Alexander Hamilton were not foreigners? Had our country any need to repent of receiving, with open arms, these fugitives of the old world? Does it become a man of yesterday, a man whose most distinguished act has been the famous report now under consideration, who is hardly known, but by the bigotry of his sentiments, and the imprudence of his conduct: does it become such a man, who amuses himself like an idiot boy in the woods, with pulling down a wasps nest about his ears: does it become such a man to stigmatize, indirectly, these warriors and sages of the revolution? Is there one gleam of common sense in Mr. Crawford's wanton insult of his colleagues in office, Mr. Dallas and Mr. Gallatin; and of you sir, who appointed these well informed and able men? Show me the foreigner whoever came to America, who has been or could have been guilty of such a needless, wanton, mischievous, mischief-making sarcasm upon the whole American people, their ancestors, their constitution, their laws and usages, such as is implied substantially in this braveura finale of Mr. Crawford's Indian report? Foreigners, French or English, Welsh, Scotch or Irish, Dutch or Dane, had nothing to do with the subject matter of this report: had they stood in Mr. Crawford's way when treating about the Indians: had he unfortunately stumbled by natural accident over a sarcasm in his path, it might have been excused. But no: what he could not find in his road, he went a mile or two out of his way in search of; he lugged into this ill-founded remark by the head and shoulders, he impressed it into his service, for no earthly purpose but to gratify his splenetic disposition, and exhibit to the world his total disregard of common decency and common sense. He has, indeed, pulled a wasps' nest about his ears, and he need not complain of the consequences, for there will be no one to pity him.

But the true origin of this outcry about foreigners, who came here in numbers so small, compared with the mass of home population, that the wildest and most timid imagination cannot really apprehend any danger from them, is, that they are, for the most part republicans. *Hinc illæ lacry mæ*; this is the origin of the weepings and wailings about foreigners, which originate among the tories and British agents of our sea port towns, and are

re-echoed by their tools, the aristocratic federalists throughout the union. I say it is the voice of Great Britain, thus crying aloud, even in our wilderness, "down with the emigrants, no quarters to foreigners." Who are the foreigners complained of by these British agents? The English, the Irish, the Scotch. Do they ever complain of the Dutch, or the Swabians and Palatinates? No: yet the mass of wealth, of energy, of talent, of knowledge, of industry are decidedly with the former class.

Why are these the objects of jealousy to an American, whose country, whose laws, whose government, whose custom and manners they adopt and prefer; with whom they associate and take root, and assimilate. There neither is, nor can be, any good reason why they should be objects of jealousy to any true American. But Great Britain, to whom this country is an object of jealousy and hatred, has reasons many and strong, to prevent, if possible, the emigration of wealth, industry, talents and science hither, and what is to her of more consequence, republican wealth, industry, talents and science. Hence our sea port towns, the factories of Britain, are noisy against foreigners, the British agents and partners, the British subjects and Americanized spies; who think it an honour, notwithstanding their oath, to remain the slaves of an idiot monarch, and a more than idiot Regent; look at and speak of every foreigner as an enemy, in proportion as he is likely to become a valuable citizen here.

Is there a man of common understanding in this city of Washington, who does not know this? How will these wolves in sheeps clothing laugh in their sleeves, at having tempted Mr. Secretary Crawford to stand forth as the bell-wether of the flock! Little to the credit of the administration is it, that the Secretary at War is the blind tool, the mouth piece of such a party so notorious.

I am, as much as any American can be, an enemy to giving foreigners any preference. But worth and wisdom are of no country. If we want these qualifications, let us seek them where they are to be found. Superior merit, whether foreign or domestic, ought to command its value, for the sake of public expedience and public profit. Moreover, it induces worth and wisdom to come forward, when it is discovered that these qualities are duly appreciated, whether in a foreigner or a native. All other things equal, the native ought to be preferred? But who is so mad as to say, that native ignorance is better than foreign knowledge.

Again, we are apt to call all people "foreigners," who are not born here, although they may have resided with unimpeached character for twenty years in the country, and have married into American families, begotten American sons and daughters, embarked their fortunes here, became naturalized here, and taken strong family root in our soil. Surely this savors something of injustice, of jealousy and envious dislike, that does our native citizens who cherish these feelings, no credit to entertain.

Suppose Mr. Crawford were to say as General Dearborn once said to a citizen born abroad, but who has established two of the

largest and most successful manufactories in our country. "But, sir, says the General, you are not an American born"—"Well, sir, (replied my friend,) and what then? How came I here?" "At an age when I was able to choose my country on mature consideration, and reflection. I came here deliberately from choice. I became a citizen upon your own terms and proposals—according to your constitution and laws, which gave me equal rights with yourself. I brought wealth, knowledge, industry with me. I have embarked all my fortune in your country; I have deliberately risked my happiness, and that of my wife and children, upon the same chance with yourself. I have renounced former connexions to become one of you. I have made sacrifices to come here. I am rooted and Americanized here, and so is my family. We reflected and consulted on the subject, and renouncing every other, have chosen this as our country. How came you here? Not by choice, but by chance; without your own knowledge, exertion or consent. You found yourself here, because your parents chose to place you here. Your first appearance in America was, as a weak, helpless, squalling, puling, dirty, naked infant, requiring the assistance of others to keep you alive; dependant upon the care of others for twenty years of your existence. You were born and staying in America, because you could not help, you have remained here because you knew no better, without choice, notion, or reflection. And do you compare yourself as an American to me?" I would not like, as an American, to acknowledge the whole of this reasoning, but there is something in it.

My next will present you, sir, with some account of Mr. Crawford's political life; with his private character I have no fault to find, and, if I had, it is not a fair topic for public discussion.

I am, Sir, &c.

AMERICANUS.

Washington City, April —

(No. 5.)

To James Madison, President of the United States.

If the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made, when every effort to introduce among them, (the Indian savages,) ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriages between them and the whites be encouraged by the government. This cannot fail to preserve the race with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed that the principles of humanity in this instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honour, to incorporate, by a humane and benevolent policy, the natives of our forests, in the great American family of freemen, than to receive,

with open arms, the fugitives of the old world, whether their flight has been the effect of their crimes or their virtues.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

Sir,—I believe you and the public, myself and Mr. Crawford, are, by this time, almost equally weary of this epistolatory correspondence; but, it is some consolation to all of us, that this letter will finish the subject of Mr. Crawford's report. What new and future instance of want of judgment may call forth similar animadversions time only can discover.

What interest does Mr. Crawford's political character confer on his opinions? A brief review of his career may enable us to answer this question.

Mr. Crawford, a school-master in Albemarle county, Virginia, conceiving it more for his interest to choose some new profession, and some new theatre of action, removed to one of the boundary counties of the state of Georgia, as a county court lawyer. In such a situation, a man of tolerable education, manners and conduct, finds it no difficult task to become conspicuous among frontier settlers. He became, like many others, similarly situated, a great man in his little world. He entered into rather an unfortunate dispute with Mr. Watkins, of Watkinsville, but I do not know enough of the facts to say whether he was in the right or the wrong. In due time he was sent to congress, and then, by that kind of dexterous management which men of moderate talents are not unfrequently well qualified to pursue, he acquired influence enough to be sent as ambassador to France.

Mr. D. B. Warden was there as consul general, and had been agent of prizes; but in the applications of our countrymen, for American claims, on the fund appropriated by treaty to discharge them, he had greatly incurred the displeasure of general Armstrong, who was to be reached only by a few persons of a different description from Mr. Warden, to whom general Armstrong's conduct, in that business, was not quite conformable with Mr. Warden's notions of propriety. Whether general Armstrong's conduct merited any censure, I leave to the merchants of our sea-port towns to decide. Certain it is, that whatever may be their opinion of general Armstrong, Mr. Warden is held in general and unequivocal respect. In France he is popular also, among that class of persons, who at Paris particularly, have great influence in giving the tone to public opinion, the class of persons usually called "Les Scavans," the literary people; Mr. Warden being himself a very well informed gentleman on subjects of science and literature, as well as on commercial affairs. This disagreement between general Armstrong and Mr. Warden, drove the latter home when general Armstrong left Paris, and on hearing Mr. Warden's account who arrived a few days before the ex-ambassador, you, sir, I believe, were pleased to continue him in the situation he held.

Mr. Crawford ignorant of the European world and of European

manners, and, unable to speak the French language, is naturally supposed to have applied to general Armstrong for information, and was of course filled up to the brim with that gentleman's prejudices against Mr. Warden.

On Mr. Crawford's arrival at Paris, he found a cabal raised against Mr. Warden by Mrs. Barlow, in which Mr. Lee of Bordeaux, a relation of Mr. Barlow's was connected. Mr. Lee would gladly have occupied Mr. Warden's official position. Mr. Crawford arriving at Paris, found, I believe, some slight deficiency in the form of his credentials, and was not accredited for some time after his arrival. During this ambassadorial interregnum, the French government transacted their public business with Mr. Warden the consul general, and the only accredited agent from this country then at Paris; not on Mr. Warden's application, but because there was no other person to whom reference could be made on public business at that time. This appears from the written declaration and testimonial of the Prince of Benevento, of which no doubt you, sir, and Mr. Crawford have been furnished with copies, and which, if disputed, I can furnish a copy myself. Mr. Crawford already prejudiced by general Armstrong and Mrs. Barlow, was strongly piqued at this mark of public respect shown to Mr. Warden, and he, therefore, took it into his head to displace Mr. Warden from the consulship, without deigning to exhibit to that gentleman any authority whatever from you, sir, or from the office of the secretary of state, for so doing; nor, so far as I know, has any such authority yet appeared. It is certain that this has been regarded by some of the most intelligent of your friends, as a high-handed, unauthorized act of injustice; and the removal of Mr. Warden as consul, is generally, and, I believe, universally regretted by the mercantile interest of New York and Philadelphia. Whether Mr. Crawford was authorized specially to remove Mr. Warden, you, sir, best know; it is generally thought that he exceeded his powers: as ambassador merely, he certainly had no such authority.

At Paris, Mr. Crawford staid, the representative of this nation to the French government, the laughing stock of the drawing room, where he stalked about in silence, unable to ask a question or give a reply, from his deplorable ignorance of the language of the country to which he was sent. I do not pretend to know any thing of the motives for sending him, or for his returning: the voice of the public is unanimous in ascribing his return to his total unfitness for the situation, which if his vanity had not acquired the predominance over his prudence, he would never have accepted.

We next find him again at Washington: one of those men, whose mediocrity of talent makes no enemies, and whose general conduct is calculated by giving no offence to make friends. He is nominated in opposition to Mr. Monroe as your successor: and while his general behaviour induces the public to believe that he declines competition, he is privately an active competitor; and so

I understand he means to continue. Every man who has tried this game before, has lost it, and so will Mr. Crawford. This underhand, this double dealing; this carrying of water on both shoulders; this systematic managed indecision; this awaiting of the turn of party politics; this manœuvring will put the stamp on Mr. Crawford's political character, and I prophesy, without hesitation, that no party will trust him hereafter. Such a man, will never be taken up by the people as President of the Union—so much for Mr. Crawford. Who, whatever he may be as a private citizen, has committed suicide upon his public character.

I shall no longer, sir, intrude on your time, and your patience, till some future temptation may call upon my pen. Accept, I pray you, sir, my good wishes and respects.

AMERICANUS.

Washington City, April 30, 1816.

Maidenhead, New Jersey, May 1, 1816.

To the Honourable the Secretary at War.

Sir,—Having seen your benevolent project for civilizing the Indians, by negotiating intermarriages with white people, I am encouraged to request you will take my case into your consideration. You must know, sir, that I am what is reproachfully styled an old maid, which, I assure you, is more my misfortune than my fault; for never poor damsel took greater pains to get married, than I have done, for the last fourteen years. I have regularly set my cap at every thing in the shape of a man, that came into our village, and once thought I had entangled the parson of our parish, by means of certain pious conversations which took place between us, but discovered, to my utter mortification, some time afterwards, that he only came to our house to ogle a rich widow over the way.

I next commenced a suit against a young lawyer, who had read law in Philadelphia six months, and come to set up in our village with a large stock of impudence and a Watson's coat. Whether I should have succeeded with him or not, remains a secret to this day; for, at the end of six months, finding the village did not suit him, on account of its affording no suits, and that his Watson suit was nearly thread bare, he decamped from the place, and went to set people together by the ears in the new countries.

My third attempt was upon the school master, a smooth, sleek, rosy faced young fellow from Connecticut, who was somewhat of a scholar, a prig and a beau. He was a great favourite in the town, and the ladies always tittered a little when he came into church, to the great annoyance of the parson, who would not bear they should look at any body but himself, I believe. I tried hard for the schoolmaster, and studied grammar on purpose to conjugate that charming verb "I love." We used to take moonlight walks along the mill pond, sit on a rock under a beautiful elm, and talk about the twelve signs, the crab, the twins, the virgin, and other monsters, and all that sort of thing. We were getting by little and

little to the point, when one night I went with him to a Methodist meeting, when he was struck down, and afterwards went a preaching among the back woods. I have since learned that he got to be a member of Congress afterwards.

But I should tire you, sir, and take up too much of your time, which belongs to the public and the Indians, if I were to detail all my attempts upon that impregnable fortress, the heart of man. I will, therefore, without further preface, being a woman of few words, come directly to the object of this letter. I would recommend, therefore, that all the old maids, whose case is considered desperate, be forthwith given in marriage to the Indians, who, though rather alarming sort of husbands, are certainly better than no husbands at all. For my part, though I have no great stomach for cooking dinner, and then waiting till my husband is satisfied before I partake of it; or for traversing the wilderness with a Papoose at my back; still all circumstances considered, my situation cannot be much worse than it is, and I am willing to become an instrument in this benevolent plan of introducing the Indians to some degree of fellowship with the whites, and bringing them into subjection to the rules of civilized life. I learned to dance cotillons of a French dancing master, who sometimes made a summer campaign amongst us; I can stitch herring bone, spin street yarn, and skim cream, and in the management of that great instrument for reducing men to order, the tongue, I do flatter myself, sir, that I excel most women, married or single.

If, therefore, you could negotiate a match between me and some tall young Indian, I should take it as a particular favour. It would not become me to pick or choose, but I should prefer having a chief, with a good number of scalps for a necklace, and whose name had been mentioned in the world. Tecumseh, I am told, is dead, but Split Log is a good matrimonial name, and Little Turtle sounds very sentimentally. But I confess I should not like to be called Mrs. "Mad Dog," or Mrs. "Great Buffalo," or Mrs. "Wind that passes," or any of those names that make such a figure in our Indian treaties, with a great cross to them, as if they were Roman Catholics. However, beggars must not be choosers, and rather than not become an instrument in this great and original plan, I would consent to be called Mrs. Chefuskumclincumclackmannicum, which, in English, I am told, means Mrs. Devil, the Lord forgive me! Pray, sir, shall I hear from you soon.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

TABITHA SPINSTER.